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Message Text

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DRAFTED BY ARA/PLC:AHWOODRUFF:S/P:LEINAUDI:ARA:WHLUERS
APPROVED BY ARA:HARYAN
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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 205587 TOSEC 100276

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BR

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: PROPOSED REPLY TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA (S/S 7517081)
REF: TOSEC 86; TOSEC 100274(BRASILIA 7462)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ARA, RYAN, ACTING

1. PROBLEM: SILVEIRA SENT YOU ON AUGUST 20, A LONG THOUGHTFUL AND AT TIMES CRITICAL LETTER. AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS AND WE SUGGEST A PROMPT REPLY PARTICULARLY BECAUSE AN INPUT FROM YOU MAY HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE TONE OF SILVEIRA'S SPEECH AT THE UN SPECIAL SESSION. SILVEIRA WILL BE IN NEW YORK ON THE MORNING OF AUGUST 30 AND IS SCHEDULED TO ADDRESS THE UNGA ON SEPTEMBER 1.

2. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE FOR TRANSMITTAL
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THE FOLLOWING LETTER WHICH HAS BEEN CLEARED BY BILL ROGERS, S/P, EUR AND EB.

3. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR ANTONIO: YOUR LETTER OF

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AUGUST 20 WAS SLIGHTLY DELAYED IN ITS TRANSMITTAL TO ME HERE IN JERUSALEM. I SHARE YOUR FEELING THAT OUR EXCHANGES ARE A SOURCE OF PERSONAL SATISFACTION. AND I AM ANSWERING IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE, BEYOND THE PERSONAL DIMENSION, OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE TOO IMPORTANT TO THE EMERGING GLOBAL ORDER, AND OUR FUTURES ARE TOO CLOSELY JOINED TO ALLOW ANY POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING OR MISINTERPRETATIONS TO CLOUD OUR RELATIONS.

A FUNDAMENTAL THEME RUNNING THROUGH YOUR LETTER DEALS WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR POLICY OF DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OUR POSTURE TOWARD THE DEVELOPING WORLD. I THINK IT IMPORTANT, ANTONIO, THAT I SEEK TO CLARIFY THE DISTINCTION I SEE BETWEEN THESE TWO CENTRAL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

AS FOR DETENTE, THE UNITED STATES SHARES TWO THINGS WITH THE SOVIET UNION: THE POWER TO DESTROY THE WORLD AND THE TRAUMATIC MEMORY OF TWO WORLD WARS IN THIS CENTURY. NO GOVERNMENT CAN RESPONSIBLY DO LESS THAN TO TRY TO CHAIN THAT POWER AND LEARN FROM THAT PAST. THESE ISSUES MAY HAVE ORIGINATED IN THE OLD WORLD BUT THAT FACT MAKES THEM NO LESS IMPORTANT TO ALL OF US AND TO WORLD PEACE. MASSIVE MILITARY FORCES STILL CONFRONT EACH OTHER IN EUROPE.

THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE WAS INDEED AN EPILOGUE -- AN EPILOGUE TO WORLD WAR II. BUT IT WAS BY NO MEANS EASILY REACHED. IT WOULD BE DISINGENUOUS OF ME TO SUGGEST WE DID NOT HAVE TO ENGAGE IN EXCHANGES WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE EFFORT TO HAMMER OUT AN OUTLINE FOR THE ACCORD. BUT THE CONFERENCE WAS THE CULMINATION OF 3 YEARS OF PAINSTAKING NEGOTIATIONS AMONG ALL THE STATES INVOLVED LEADING TOWARD A BETTER DEFINITION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. EACH COUNTRY, LARGE AND SMALL, HAD POINTS IT WISHED TO ADVANCE AND IMPORTANT INTERESTS IT HAD TO PROTECT. THESE HAD TO BE ACCOMMODATED OR CONFIDENTIAL

THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO FINAL AGREEMENT. IT IS DIFFICULT TO INTERPRET THIS BROAD EFFORT AS AN EXERCISE IN CONDOMINIUM. CERTAINLY THE PARTICIPANTS DID NOT LOOK ON IT AS SUCH.

BUT DETENTE IS A LIMITED PROCESS WITH LIMITED ENDS. THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE AS YOU EMPHATICALLY POINT OUT DOES NOT REPRESENT THE FULL RANGE OF PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE WORLD TODAY. WHO COULD QUESTION THAT THIS OPEN COUNTRY WITH ITS VARIED POPULATION AND ITS MARKET FOR IDEAS AND PRODUCTS EXTENDING ACROSS THE WORLD COULD BE INSENSITIVE TO OR ISOLATED FROM THE DRAMATIC CHANGES UNDERWAY IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

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THE GREAT IMPORTANCE I
PLACE ON MY FORTHCOMING ADDRESS BEFORE THE UN SPECIAL

SESSION DEMONSTRATES THE PROFOUND PREOCCUPATION OVER ECO-
NOMIC PROBLEMS THAT WE SHARE WITH THE "EMERGING PRO-
TAGONISTS" FROM THE THIRD WORLD.

BUT I CANNOT, ANTONIO, IN ALL CANDOR AGREE THAT
THERE IS IN ANY OF OUR POLICIES THAT HAVE EVOLVED TOWARD
THE THIRD WORLD OVER THE PAST MONTHS A "NATURAL TENDENCY
OF TWO LEADER NATIONS TO GOVERN THE WORLD JOINTLY." THE
CRITICAL DEBATE NOW BEFORE US IS OVER TRADE RELATIONS,
COMMODITIES AND A RE-EXAMINATION OF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY
ARRANGEMENTS. YET, THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER COMMUNIST
NATIONS ARE NOT ONLY NOT INFLUENTIAL ON US POLICIES IN
THIS REGARD BUT THEY HAVE VIRTUALLY OPTED OUT OF THE
DEBATE. THE SOVIETS PLAYED NEITHER AN INTERESTED NOR
ACTIVE ROLE IN THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, THE WORLD
POPULATION CONFERENCE, SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY NOR THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE IN PARIS.
IN THESE FORA WHERE NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES HAVE BEEN EXAMINED
SERIOUSLY WE HAVE PLAYED AN ACTIVE AND CONCERNED ROLE.
AN OBSESSION WITH EAST/WEST RELATIONS IN NO WAY MOTIVATED
THE ATTENTION AND INITIATIVES WE BROUGHT TO THOSE
MEETINGS.

HOW DO WE APPROACH THESE NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES?
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THOUGH YOU COULD NOT SAY SO, I BELIEVE THAT BRAZIL SHOULD
BE ONE OF THE LEADING FORCES IN ANY SEARCH FOR A TRULY
GLOBAL ORDER. BRAZIL'S OWN IMPORTANCE AND OUR SHARED
UNDERSTANDING THAT MUTUAL RECRIMINATION WILL NOT AID
THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT REQUIRED FOR A SUCCESSFUL
OUTCOME MAKE THIS INEVITABLE. I WAS HEARTENED BY YOUR
REFERENCES TO THIS POINT IN YOUR SAO PAULO SPEECH AND
I LOOK FORWARD WITH GREAT INTEREST TO YOUR ADDRESS IN
NEW YORK.

NOW TO CUBA. SOME COUNTRIES MAY HAVE ACTED AT SAN
JOSE IN THE MISTAKEN BELIEF THAT DETENTE REQUIRES
NORMALIZATION WITH CUBA. WE DID NOT. NEITHER DETENTE,
NOR OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, NOR ANY DESIRE TO
IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH CUBA GOVERNED OUR ACTIONS AT
SAN JOSE. IN SAN JOSE WE JOINED IN A FREEDOM OF ACTION
FORMULA THAT HAD MAJORITY SUPPORT. THIS FORMULA WAS A
LATIN AMERICAN INITIATIVE WHICH WE SUPPORTED IN ORDER
TO REMOVE AN IRRITANT IN HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS AND
PRESERVE INDEED REVIVE HEMISPHERIC SUPPORT FORTHE
RIO TREATY. LAST WEEK WITHOUT ABANDONING OUR EMBARGO
ON DIRECT TRADE WITH CUBA WE MODIFIED THOSE OF OUR OWN

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SANCTIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE CONFLICTED WITH THE DECISION
TAKEN AT SAN JOSE. THE DETERMINING CRITERION OF OUR
POLICY WAS THEREFORE ENTIRELY HEMISPHERIC WITHOUT

CONCERN FOR EXTRANEOUS CONSIDERATIONS LIKE DETENTE.

OPINIONS WILL OBVIOUSLY VARY ABOUT THE NATURE OF
THE CUBAN SUBVERSIVE THREAT. MY OWN JUDGMENT IS THAT
AN INCREASING NUMBER OF AMERICAN STATES NO LONGER SEE
CUBA AS A SERIOUS THREAT. WHETHER OR NOT THERE HAS
BEEN A REAL AND ENDURING CHANGE IN CUBAN INTENTIONS
AND CAPABILITY FOR SUBVERSION, THERE IS MORE CONFIDENCE
ON THE PART OF THE STATES THEMSELVES ABOUT THEIR ABILITY
TO DEAL WITH WHATEVER THREAT DOES EXIST. YOUR POINT
ABOUT THE "EMERGENCE OF NEW PROTAGONISTS COMING FROM
THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE" IS AGAIN RELEVANT HERE. FOR
DESPITE THE MANIFOLD PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT US ALL,
I DO SENSE IN MOST LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AN INCREASING
SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN ADVANCEMENT AND SE-
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CURITY AND IN MANY CASES AN INCREASED SENSE OF CONFIDENCE
IN THEIR OWN ABILITY TO EXERCISE THAT RESPONSIBILITY.
THE STRENGTHENING AND RE-AFFIRMATION OF THE RIO TREATY
AT SAN JOSE PROVIDES FURTHER REASSURANCE IN THIS REGARD.
THE TREATY OF COURSE REMAINS OUR ULTIMATE SAFEGUARD
AGAINST ANY RECRUDESCENCE OF THE CUBAN THREAT TO
WHICH WE MUST CERTAINLY REMAIN ALERT.
I ALSO SHARE YOUR DOUBT WHETHER CUBA IS DISPOSED
TO COOPERATE IN THE HEMISPHERE AND TO UNDERTAKE FIRM
COMMITMENTS TO ITS NEIGHBORS. WE WILL BE LOOKING FOR
EVIDENCE OF CUBA'S READINESS TO UNDERTAKE ITS INTER-
NATIONAL AND HEMISPHERIC RESPONSIBILITIES. OUR POSTURE
TOWARD CUBA AND TOWARD ITS ROLE IN THE HEMISPHERE WILL
BE CONDITIONED BY OUR EVALUATION OF THEIR BEHAVIOR.

YOU HAVE RAISED THE QUESTION OF OUR OWN RELATIONS
WITH CUBA. AS I HAVE INDICATED OUR LIFTING OF SANCTIONS
AGAINST THIRD COUNTRIES HAS NOT EASED OUR EMBARGO ON
DIRECT TRADE WITH CUBA. SHOULD CUBA ADOPT A MORE
COOPERATIVE APPROACH IN THE FUTURE WE MAY EVENTUALLY
CONSIDER CHANGES IN OUR POSTURE, BUT SUCH CHANGES WILL
BE BASED ON A RECIPROCAL PROCESS IN WHICH CUBA WILL
HAVE TO DEMONSTRATE ITS READINESS TO FULFILL ITS
OBLIGATIONS TO US. SHOULD SUCH AN EVOLUTION BEGIN
YOU WILL BE AMONG THE FIRST TO KNOW, DIRECTLY FROM ME.

IN THE SAME CANDOR I HAVE ADDRESSED THESE OTHER
IMPORTANT MATTERS, I WISH TO TURN TO A BIPOTENTIALLY
YOU ADDRESSED. I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIALLY
CONFLICTIVE IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW TRADE MEASURES
WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT RECENTLY INTRODUCED AND WHICH

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WE HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED. WE REALIZE THAT THE
APPLICATION OF THE DECREE IS ONLY PROSPECTIVE AND
THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT BEING SINGLED OUT.
HOWEVER, I AM
SURE YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT TRADE ISSUES ARE OF
MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. WE SHOULD
WORK TO AVOID FRICTIONS WHEREVER POSSIBLE. IT WAS
BECAUSE OF THIS THAT I ASKED AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS TO
BRING TO YOUR EARLY ATTENTION OUR CONCERN OVER THE
POTENTIALLY HARMFUL IMPACT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS
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WHICH COULD RESULT FROM RESTRICTIVE MEASURES OF THE SORT
WHICH MIGHT BE PERMITTED BY THE NEW PROCLAMATION.
THE PROSPECTIVE OCTOBER MEETING OF THE TRADE CONSULTATIVE
SUB-GROUP WILL BE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW
THIS AND OTHER OUTSTANDING TRADE ISSUES.

FINALLY, ANTONIO, I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE QUESTION
OF THE BROADER HEMISPHERIC DIALOGUE WHICH YOU RAISE IN
YOUR LETTER. I SHARE YOUR VIEW THAT THE CURRENT CLIMATE
IS NOT CONDUCIVE TO A RESUSCITATION OF THE NEW DIALOGUE
IN A FORMAL SENSE. BUT I REMAIN AS INTERESTED AS
I ALWAYS HAVE BEEN IN THE PROBLEM OF IMPROVED
COMMUNICATION WITHIN THE HEMISPHERE. AND I HAVE BEEN
GREATLY HEARTENED BY THE HIGH QUALITY OF DIALOGUE THAT
WE WITNESSED AT THE RECENT OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND
AT THE SAN JOSE MEETING ON THE RIO TREATY. YET IT SEEMS
TO ME THAT ON THE ISSUES THAT TRANSCEND HEMISPHERIC
CONCERNS, THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS THEMSELVES NEED
TO COME TO SOME AGREEMENT ON HOW A REGIONAL DIALOGUE
CAN BE FOLDED INTO THE GLOBAL DEBATE.

ON THIS ISSUE, AS ON OTHERS, I AS ALWAYS WELCOME
YOUR VIEWS. I BELIEVE THAT CLOSE CONSULTATION BETWEEN
US AND OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL BE AN INDISPENSABLE
REQUISITE TO ANY PROGRESS WE MAKE ON THE PROBLEMS WHICH
CONFRONT BOTH OF OUR NATIONS. WARMEST REGARDS, HENRY.
END TEXT.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

APPROVE AS AMENDED INGERSOLL

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